

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 INR-05 NSCE-00  
PM-03 CIAE-00 IO-06 ACDA-10 INRE-00 PRS-01 SP-02  
L-01 /051 W  
-----036891 241912Z /47

O P 241650Z AUG 77  
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6353  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY  
/AMEMBASSY BONN 750  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USNMR SHAPE BEL  
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER  
USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES IT  
USMISSION NATO  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
DIA WASHDC  
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 2228

LIMDIS

BRUSSELS FOR USEEC; USCINCEUR AND USDOCOSOUTH FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PGOV, CY, TU  
SUBJECT: GOC FONMIN CHRISTOPHIDES' DEMARCHE ON VAROSHA, UNGA;  
OTHER MATTERS

REF: NICOSIA 2220 (DTG R 241340Z AUG 77) (NOTAL)

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SUMMARY: THROUGH FONMIN CHRISTOPHIDES, GOC ASKS FURTHER US  
ASSISTANCE TO PREVENT TURKISH OCCUPATION OF CONSTANTIA HOTEL  
SECTION OF VAROSHA, AND TO PROTECT PRECEDENT IN UNGA CYPRUS  
DEBATE. GOC EXPLICITLY REITERATES REQUEST FOR CONTINUED US  
ROLE IN CYPRUS PROBLEM IN RESPONSE TO CLIFFORD PRESS CONFERENCE  
STATEMENT. CHRISTOPHIDES SAYS THE LINES ARE BEING DRAWN  
ON WHETHER AND HOW GOC SHOULD PURSUE AN INTERNATIONAL

CONFERENCE ON THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, WITH ACTING PRESIDENT  
KYPRIANOU BEING IN FAVOR OF INITIATIVE AND CHRISTOPHIDES  
AGAINST. END SUMMARY.

1. GOC FONMIN CHRISTOPHIDES ADKED ME TO CALL AUG 23 TO RECEIVE  
DEMARCHE ON TURKISH OPENING AND OCCUPATION OF CONSTANTIA HOTEL  
AREA OF VAROSHA. GOC HAD ALREADY ANNOUNCED THAT FONMIN WOULD BE  
MEETING ACTING SPECREP OF UNSYG AND AMBASSADORS OF FIVE PERMANENT  
SC MEMBERS.

2. SAYING THAT AMB DIMITRIOU WOULD BE MAKING PARALLEL  
PRESENTATION IN DEPT, CHRISOTPHIDES REPRESENTED TURKISH ACTION  
IN VAROSHA AS YET ANOTHER FAIT ACCOMPLI AND FIRST PHASE IN A  
"SALAMI TACTIC" TO OPEN AND OCCUPY ALL OF VAROSHA. IF TURKEY  
PERSISTED, HE SAID, THE CYPRUS NEGOTIATION WOULD BE AT AN END.  
GOC WAS APPROACHING USG "AS A WARM FRIEND" BUT ALSO PROMINENT  
MEMBER OF SC, WHICH HAS PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY IN THIS MATTER,  
FOR HELP IN REVERSING THE TURKISH ACTION. CHRISTOPHIDES ADDED  
THE "PRIVATE" OBSERVATION THAT TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAD NOW GIVEN  
SO MUCH FANFARE TO OPENING OF TRAINING SCHOOL AT THE CONSTANTIA  
HOTEL THAT IT IS PROBABLY TOO LATE TO REVERSE TURKISH PRESENCE  
THERE. HIS HOPE WAS THAT INTERCESSION OF US AND OTHERS WITH  
TURKEY WOULD HALT PLANS TO OCCUPY ADJACENT 100-ROOM APARTMENT  
AND SHOPS.

3. CHRISTOPHIDES HANDED ME A MEMORANDUM RECOUNTING RECENT  
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TURKISH STATEMENTS WHICH, HE ALLEGED, REVEALED THIER INTENTIONS  
IN VAROSHA (REFTEL).

4. I SAID USG STANDS WITH GOC ON THIS MATTER. OUR POSITION  
HAD ALREADY BEEN MADE A MATTER OF RECORD, BOTH PUBLICLY IN  
MR. CLIFFORD'S AUG 9 PRESS CONFERENCE IN NICOSIA AND  
DIPLOMATICALLY THROUGH REPRESENTATIONS TO GOT. WE HAD BEEN  
ASSURED THAT THERE WAS NO INTENTION AT THIS TIME TO TAKE  
SIMILAR ACTIONS WITH REGARD TO THE REST OF VAROSHA. WHILE  
WE HERE WERE NOT IN A POSITION TO EVALUATE THE TURKISH  
ASSURANCE, I GAVE IT AS AN EMBASSY NICOSIA VIEW THAT TURKEY  
MAY (A) CONSIDER ULTIMATE CONTROL OF FAMAGUSTA PORT A  
STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE AND (B) REGARD PERMANENT TURKISH OCCUPATION  
AND CONTROL OVER PORT PERIPHERY, INCLUDING CONSTANTIA HOTEL AREA  
AS ESSENTIAL TO THIS OBJECTIVE.

5. CHRISOTPHIDES AGREED THIS WAS A PLAUSIBLE THEORY BUT SAID  
THAT IF THIS WERE THE TURKISH OBJECTIVE, IT SHOULD BE PURSUED  
AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE NOT BY FURTHER UNILATERAL ACTION.  
MAIN POINT OF GOC DEMARCHE, IN ANY CASE, WAS TO REQUEST  
FURTHER EFFORTS FROM FRIENDS TO BLOCK CHANGE IN THE STATUS QUO.

6. CHRISTOPHIDES SAID HE HAD A SECOND MATTER ON HIS OFFICIAL AGENDA: CYPRUS DEBATE IN THE UNGA. AFTER DESCRIBING PROCEDURE WHEREBY CYPRUS ITEM WILL BE ALLOCATED TO COMMITTEE AND TO PLENARY BY STEERING COMMITTEE, OF WHICH US IS A MEMBER, AND NOTING GOC REPORTS THAT GOT IS AGAIN ATTEMPTING TO KEEP CYPRUS OUT OF THE PLENARY AND REDUCE ITS IMPORTANCE BY SEEKING TO HAVE IT HEARD ONLY IN SPC, CHRISTOPHIDES ASKED THAT USG SUPPORT PROCEDURE ADOPTED BY GA'S SINCE 1974, I.E. AN OPPORTUNITY FOR TURKISH CYPRIOTS TO BE HEARD IN SPC WITH GOC, ONLY, REPRESENTING CYPRUS IN PLENARY.

7. I TOLD CHRISTOPHIDES I WOULD CONVEY HIS DEMARCHE ON THIS AS WELL AS VAROSHA. I NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT IT WAS MY UNDERSTANDING THAT DURING HIS LATE JULY VISIT TO NICOSIA  
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ASSTSEC MAYNES HAD MENTIONED IN CONVERSATIONS THAT US THIS YEAR WOULD AGAIN OPPOSE ANY CHANGE IN PROCEDURE.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NICOSIA 2228

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8. CHRISTOPHIDES THEN SAID HE HAD TWO ADDITIONAL MATTERS ON WHICH HE WANTED TO SOUND ME OUT ON A PERSONAL BASIS. FIRST, IN HIS AUG 9 NICOSIA PRESS CONFERENCE, MR. CLIFFORD HAD SAID US ROLE IN CYPRUS PROBLEM WOULD CONTINUE IF THE PARTIES DESIRED. CHRISTOPHIDES WONDERED WHETHER THIS MEANT THAT WE WANTED AN EXPLICITLY RENEWED REQUEST FOR A CONTINUED US ROLE NOW THAT CYPRUS PRESIDENCY HAD CHANGED. HE ALSO ASKED CONFIDENTIAL

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WHETHER (ACTING PRESIDENT) KYPRIANOU'S REMARKS TO ME AT OUR MEETING ON AUG 19 HAD RESOLVED ANY UNCERTAINTY USG MIGHT HAVE ON THIS SCORE. I REPLIED THAT I DID NOT THINK MR. CLIFFORD'S REMARK WOOKED TO AN EXPLICIT RENEWAL OF GOC REQUEST FOR US INVOLVEMENT. IN ANY CASE, KYPRIANOU HAD TOLD ME THAT HE WANTED TO CONTINUE MAKARIOS' POLICIES, CENTRAL TO THESE BEING RELIANCE ON US HELP IN SEEKING A CYPRUS SOLUTION. CHRISTOPHIDES SAID GOOD. FONMIN TOLD ME THAT IF THERE WERE ANY DOUBTS IN OUR MIND HE HAD BEEN EMPOWERED BY KYPRIANOU TO REITERATE THAT GOC WANTS AND IS RELYING UPON CONTINUING ASSISTANCE OF PRESIDENT CARTER, SECRETARY VANCE AND MR. CLIFFORD.

9. CHRISTOPHIDES SAID HIS SECOND PERSONAL INQUIRY CONCERNED AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. THIS WOULD BE DISCUSSED AT MEETING OF NATIONAL COUNCIL/COUNCIL OF MINISTERS SCHEDULED FOR AFTERNOON AUG 24. CHRISTOPHIDES RECOUNTED DEVELOPMENTS OF PAST TWO MONTHS WHICH ADDED UP TO THE FACT THAT MAKARIOS' STATEMENTS, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, LEAVE AN AMBIGUOUS INHERITANCE ON THIS SUBJECT. CHRISTOPHIDES ANTICIPATED THAT AT AUG 24 MEETING KYPRIANOU WOULD BE MANEUVERING TO MAKE AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE A CENTRAL POLICY OBJECTIVE IN UNGA. UTILITY OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE HAS LONG BEEN AN ARTICLE OF FAITH WITH KYPRIANOU. CHRISTOPHIDES SAID HE HIMSELF FELT THAT AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE WOULD NOT HELP THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, QUITE THE CONTRARY, AND THAT FOR GOC TO DO MORE THAN PAY LIP SERVICE TO THE IDEA WOULD BE WRONG AND BADLY RECEIVED IN WASHINGTON. I REPLIED THAT CHOICE WAS FOR GOC TO MAKE. IF IT WERE FELT NECESSARY TO PURSUE THIS FOR REASONS OF INTERNAL POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY, OR OTHERWISE, SO BE IT. HOWEVER, USG SHARED HIS OPINION THAT IT WOULD NOT ADVANCE A SOLUTION. AN EFFORT IN THIS DIRECTION WOULD BE NEGATIVELY

VIEWED IN WASHINGTON. PRESIDENT CARTER'S HELP HAD BEEN  
ASKED BY MAKARIOS. WE HAD PROMISED IT. THE SOVIET IDEA WAS  
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PROPAGANDISTIC AND CONFLICTING. IF IT WERE NOW TO BE SUCCESSFULLY PUSHED BY THE GOC, IT WOULD GIVE USSR A LOCUS STANDI IN CYPRUS PROBLEM WHICH WE WOULD NOT APPROVE AND IT DID NOT DESERVE, GIVEN ITS CLEAR INTEREST IN PERPETUATING THE PROBLEM.

10. CHRISTOPHIDES THANKED ME AND SAID MY REMARKS SUPPORTED HIS INTENDED APPROACH IN AUG 24 MEETING. HE HAD PREPARED A BRIEFING MEMORANDUM TO BE PRESENTED AT THE MEETING WHICH DID NOT REFER TO US AND WOULD NOT. MEMORANDUM ASKED NATIONAL COUNCIL/COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEMBERS TO EVALUATE WHETHER GOC COULD REALISTICALLY COUNT ON HAVING THE SUPPORT OF NON-ALIGNED CONTACT GROUP IN NEW YORK. WITHOUT SPONSORSHIP OF CONTACT GROUP, GIVEN UNDOUBTED OPPOSITION OF MANY OTHERS, PROPOSAL WOULD GO NOWHERE. MEMORANDUM ALSO SUGGESTS MEMBERS COME TO A JUDGMENT ON WHETHER, IF PUT TO THE TEST, EVEN SOVIET UNION WOULD WORK FOR PROPOSAL. CHRISTOPHIDES EXPLAINED THAT THE SECOND POINT IN THE MEMORANDUM WAS DESIGNED TO EXPOSE PAPAIOANNOU (SECRETARY GENERAL OF COMMUNIST PARTY AKEL), WHO IS KNOWN TO HAVE TOLD FRIENDS THAT THE SOVIET UNION AS A POWER WITH GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES, INCLUDING KEEPING THE PEACE BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY, SHOULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO TAKE WHAT IN THIS CASE WOULD BE A PARTISAN POSITION.  
CRAWFORD

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## Message Attributes

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**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**To:** STATE USEEC  
**Type:** TE  
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